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Part 2 PSYCHO-CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

128 THE purpose of this portion of the volume is to draw together the material on childhood and child training and to attempt to show how it can be synthesized with adult behavior and values as well as with institutional forms. Formalized and unformalized behaviors are discussed in the order in which the growing Atimelanger encounters them. It will be necessary to interweave the strands, many of which will have to be carried continuously throughout the material. However, certain age groupings and associated emphases are possible. For example, the period of infancy lends itself to a discussion of the influence of orifice psychology and the gratifications or frustrations of physiological needs and tensions. Early and late childhood are best associated with the discussion of discipline. Adolescence in this culture is the period when adjustments to adult values begin to loom large. Adulthood presents the possibility for working out early conditioning and cultural values in terms of institutions and status positions.

Chapter 3

Infancy: From Birth to Walking

154 THE physiological theories of conception and fetal life in Atimelang will be discussed later in a section on sexual behavior and attitudes. Parental attitudes and behavior immediately before, during, and subsequent to birth will be described here only in so far as they impinge on the development of the infant. Within the infancy period Atimelangers recognize a series of stages: from birth to the first smile, from the first smile to sitting up alone or crawling, from crawling to walking. The actual age in months or years is of no concern. In fact, it is very difficult for the average mother to count back through the number of gardens she has planted, in order to tell you whether her child was born even three or four years ago. Therefore, ages given throughout this volume are only rough estimates.

THE CONFINEMENT

183 Pregnancy and actual birth are not surrounded with many observ-
● 183 ances, and precautions vary with individuals both in kind and in the strictness with which they are followed. For instance, intercourse be-

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tween husband and wife should stop as soon as the wife knows she is 843
pregnant, that is, when she ceases to have monthly periods. With a very 183
young wife who becomes pregnant before her first menses, intercourse
should stop when she first notes the physiological changes accompany-
ing pregnancy. In actual practice, however, a husband sometimes has
intercourse with his wife until the last month of pregnancy. This is
often true for young men who do not have second wives. Older men [843]
who have been able to afford a second wife—and they are in the mi-
nority—usually take up residence with the other woman. The result in
such polygynous families may be the birth of offspring to alternate
wives.

A woman works all through her pregnancy, often doing fairly heavy 843
field labor. It is recognized, however, that work which is too heavy may
produce miscarriages, so that women who want children are careful not
to overstrain themselves. Food preferences during pregnancy also are
recognized and indulged.

There is a series of prenatal taboos, knowledge and observance of
which vary greatly from individual to individual. They apply primarily
to the mother, but there are one or two applicable to the father as well.
For instance, a pregnant woman should not place a new pot on the fire,
because if it blackens, her child will be born with patches of darker
pigment. A pregnant woman should eat only the less desirable belly
portions of rats. If she eats the hind- and forequarters, her child's limbs
will spread at birth like those of a rat spitted for roasting. A man should
not straighten arrows during his wife's pregnancy, for the child would
then be born with eyes rolled to one side. However, after straightening
an arrow shaft the father can rub it on his wife's abdomen and the
child's eyes will straighten.

There are many such superstitions, but their weight and importance 854
seem no greater than comparable ones in our own society. It is worth 827
noting, however, that these prenatal influences indicate a sense of close
intimacy between children and parents and that often there are anti-
dotes for harmful acts. The sense of intimate physiological connection
between mother and child persists after birth, so that mothers who
were nursing sick infants came to me for medicine they could take in
order to cure their children. I could discover no parallel native medica-
tion, however.

When labor pains begin, the mother goes to the house of a kins- 844
woman if possible. If no kinswoman's house is near by, she may give
birth in her own home. Usually the husband is not present, merely as a
matter of good form, although there is no strict rule on this point. The

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585 age, but her kinsmen are always ready to remind her of her original loyalties. She usually arrives at her husband's house with a bundle of wood or some corn as a symbol of her readiness to take up cohabitation.

● [583] Again, however, this is the formal rather than the usual procedure.
[584] Quite often a very young girl may live in the house with her future husband, because "if she cooks for the man, his heart will remember mokos and he will want to pay her family." On many other occasions a girl will refuse to go through with the physical aspects of marriage, although the financial ones have been arranged for her and a first moko payment has been made. This reluctance will be discussed subsequently where sexual material is treated in greater detail.

602 If, however, a marriage does crystallize, the husband, after making
583 the first payment, is free to call on his affinal kin for the first dowry return whenever he is in need of it. Similarly his affinal kin will dun him for further kafuk payments as they need them. The liquidation of the bride-price and dowry terms may take the better part of a lifetime. Meanwhile, however, there has been carried on between the two groups of affinal kin a series of exchanges in pigs of the so-called paheh and fila type. These are not standardized and agreed upon ahead of time. The
[585] number of animals exchanged should theoretically be equal in value, but the outcome depends on the fluctuating bargaining power of the individuals concerned. The extent to which each group of kin is involved in death feasts, the building of lineage houses, and the establishment of new marital obligations will determine the frequency and size of the demands they make upon each other. The result is that a young
[587] man is often fearful of marrying a girl whose male kin are too rich and influential, because he may not have the resources to meet the requests to which such a marriage exposes him.

431 In addition to the larger bride-price–dowry exchanges there are
583 the so-called free gifts (*punghe* and *siengma*). Actually, the punghe
602 gifts are considered the man's payments on actual or potential offspring and may be one of the chief avenues for minor exploitation. Stated conversely, these gifts provide a man the opportunity to show himself either large-handed or niggardly. Propriety demands that each child be represented by a minimum of four punghe gifts, which means four piglets. The corresponding siengma, or vegetable gifts of rice and corn, are such foods as the wife has been able to persuade her parents to contribute to any feast undertaken by her husband. Actually, a boy who is not yet married and who wishes to placate his potential and grasping
431 affinal kin may begin by giving punghe gifts before he pays his first
602 real bride-price or cohabits with his wife. In addition, there is another

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to those of her husband, this was a singularly loyal and romantic state- 584
ment on the girl's part.

In the foregoing pages I have attempted to give a simplified picture 581
of what marriage means financially, how young men enter the game, and the kinds of human involvements that may result. From even this brief résumé of the situation it becomes evident how firmly wealth and marriage, sex and frustration must merge in the minds of young Atimelangers.

ROMANCE AND SEX IN MARRIAGE

That there is such a thing as romantic love is evident from the foregoing. However, it is equally evident that this is not the term in which the institution is phrased by the culture. In this, of course, the Atimelangers reverse our romantic formulation of marriage. I have the impression that a stubborn romantic attachment like Senlaka's is a definite liability, since it makes him more susceptible to financial pressure.

In discussing the sexual and romantic aspects of courting and mar- 584
riage it is worth noting how consistently the men's autobiographies report that women took the initiative. It is often they who suggest that tokens such as shawls, bracelets, and the like be exchanged. It is the girls who are supposed to ask men for areca, which is symbolic at least of friendship, and often of actual courting. They flock as eagerly as boys to the all-night dances, which often offer excellent opportunities for finding [535] partners. Dances consist of a circle of people standing close and moving sidewise with arms thrown over each other's shoulders or around the partners' waists. There is every opportunity to select the partner of one's choice and to have close physical contact with him. The men, in speaking of marriage, often present themselves as passive pawns of women's or older men's designs. Such a picture might be more convincing if it were substantiated by the women's autobiographies and if the flirting, philandering, and recriminations of everyday life did not in part contradict it. The actual situation probably varies with individuals. The point to be noted is that initiative in contracting a marriage is not even theoretically denied to women.

In both sexes the striking thing brought out in the autobiographies is 584
the ease with which loved persons may be surrendered. It is a character 593
trait consistent with the supposition made at the end of the section on 571
late childhood, namely, that there are few opportunities in Atimelang life for the establishment of secure and permanent relationships and little expectation of, or insistence upon, them. This is far from saying 183 ●
that they never occur. There are several couples who have established 593
what would be considered in any culture devoted and lasting marital

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ties. Such ties are within the range of possibility but do not appear to be modal.

One of the interesting aspects of early married life in Atimelang is that the woman, once mutual residence has been established, quite often refuses her husband sexual privileges. This refusal is often phrased in terms of still unsatisfactory financial payments to her kinsmen, so that men have another opportunity to link wealth with sex and sexual frustration. However, if we may trust the autobiographies, men may also on occasion show considerable reluctance to enter into sexual relationships. Rilpada's and Malelaka's autobiographies both point to such episodes. In consonance with such an attitude is the fact that most men when engaged in elaborate feast finances are continent and even sleep in the male guesthouses or on their own verandahs. The acquisition of wealth can be pursued successfully only at the expense of sexual gratification. It should be stated parenthetically that some women, as well as their husbands, believe that they are lucky rather than unlucky in relation to "pulling in gongs and mokos," so that continence is not required of their husbands to assure success in financial transactions.

On the part of women the unwillingness to enter immediately into sexual intimacies with their husbands, or at least the existence of that traditional attitude, may be explicable in part by the very early marriages they frequently contract. The first sign of swelling breasts is considered the token of a girl's readiness for adult sexual life. First menses are considered irrelevant, and some women told me of having borne children before their periods set in.* Not every girl, of course, marries so young, but there is no doubt that marriage does come much earlier in life for girls than for boys. This means that their period of sociological adolescence is much briefer and certainly in comparison to boys socially much less trying.

The attitude of men toward young wives varies considerably, although again opinion is weighted in favor of young women. Of course the matter is relative. In the case of Atamau, previously cited, his overt objection was that the girl was too young to enter into sexual relations. The chief of Atimelang, who then bought the girl, said that it was better to get a very young girl so that she could be trained to docility and industry. A man from Dikimpe was very dubious of the whole affair and said somewhat scornfully that in his village they did not believe in marrying children. Rilpada, whose autobiography is included in this volume, was of the opinion that an older woman, who thought only of her fields and had already learned to work, was more desirable as a

* The menopause is treated in an equally casual manner.

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wife. That may simply have been an attempt to justify the fact that his wife was a good deal older than himself and that probably his sexual interests were minimal.

One of the prime requisites in a wife is that she be industrious. Whenever either men or women expressed what they considered the most prized qualifications in a partner, they generally agreed that women should work hard and that men should be rich. Obviously physical beauty enters also, but it is not a verbalized prerequisite. Beauty consists for both men and women of a light skin, small eyes, and wavy hair. In women firm, well-rounded breasts are admired and in men muscular strength. Actually it is extremely difficult to get a direct expression of judgment on anyone's appearance, since this belongs to the category of intimate remarks, of indiscretions, that it is essential to avoid. Early in my stay I threw a group of adults into considerable embarrassment by asking them to name the handsome men and women of the community. In the realm of physical attractiveness, cleanliness too is prized, and one of the indications of the adolescent interest in marriage is more frequent bathing and greater attention to hair combing. Once a woman marries and becomes a stable family member, too much cleanliness is looked upon askance as a token of flightiness.

The ideal, if not the normal matron is a woman who spends her whole working day in the field and in housework, minds her own business, is careless of her appearance, and goes to outlying fields with some reliable female companion. Needless to say, a great many women are not typical in this ideal sense of the word. Actually, vigorous, aggressive women who show masculine skills in finance and debate are referred to admiringly as men-women (*neng-suyos*). Men with poor memories often rely on their wives to help them keep track of their financial involvements and they even send them on minor financial errands. Vice versa, men who possess female skills and aptitudes in gardening, gathering wood, cooking, and basketry may be referred to as women-men (*suyos-neng*). Women usually speak with praise of a man who is skillful and diligent in horticulture and, contrariwise, women complain of men's lack of assistance in the fields almost as much as they do of their financial peccadilloes. In these cross-references from one sex to the other there are none of the derogatory connotations that go with our phrases of mannish woman or womanish man. It is evident, therefore, that theory stresses sex differences in activities, property ownership, and ideal types but that both sexes may, and often do, possess each other's capabilities without any particular onus being attached to the fact.

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nomena gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolata gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpada had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply discarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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punging his shame by challenging his accusers to "kalukek." He did this by procuring from a friend a three-dollar pig for which he paid the excessive price of a five-dollar moko, after his friend had gone through a ceremonial dunning procedure (*nahuel, nohwor;* literally, follow me, call to me). Then he went to the two kinsmen of the girl with a group of supporting relatives who bore ceremonial spears and horns. They stood on the dance place and shouted challenge, demanding that the three-dollar pig be paid for with a six-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko. This was finally paid to Mangma so that ultimately he received one dollar and fifty cents as a fine for the insult leveled at him. This was not pure profit since he had to pay his allies a series of six graded payments for their support.

Refusal to meet such a challenge and pay the exorbitant price demanded for a pig so presented is a source of shame and an admission of financial defeat comparable, on a smaller scale, to that of a wealth contest. As in a wealth contest such a procedure does not result in any financial gain to the winner. In fact, the winner is apt to lose in the long run because of his obligations to supporters. Profit, more than reciprocity or potlatching, is the ideal of Alorese economy. Formerly only the breakdown of the profit system led to either of the other two systems of financial manipulation. This may explain why they were and are so rarely used and why litigation was so rapidly accepted once it was introduced. During the eighteen months in Atimelang only one case of the old kalukek system occurred. This was the outgrowth of a quarrel between two brothers who had exchanged wives. The younger brother was an unwilling partner in the exchange and gave his new wife to a friend who in turn offered him refuge against his older brother. The two friends lived together for a time but fought over the possession of the woman. There was a litigation in which the friend and the runaway brother were judged equally guilty. Instead of a fine, the chief ordered both men to be tied up for a day. The friend was so incensed at the duplicity and so shamed by the punishment that he began kalukek proceedings against the younger brother, who had meanwhile taken his wife and returned to his own village, where he made peace with his older brother.

[495] 681 627 [602] [558] [177]

WAR

It is quite obvious that there might be occasions where the hard dealing and chicanery openly admired in Atimelang finances reach a point that drives certain individuals to physical violence and murder. This in turn often precipitates war. Once under way, a war can drag on for years in a series of retaliations, which are also given their financial col-

686 627 [721]

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way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize satellite and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned beneath any one house. Maliseni, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Probably Maliseni's financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the contest devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fantan the Interpreter and Malelaka. Fantan, who was hard pressed at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko, I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Malelaka, who was some twenty years older than Fantan, answered, "That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to

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556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fantan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and
782 difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one
[753] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small
[769] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth,
156 but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many
132 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities
556 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

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Lakfui. Ten of our baskets we used for the death feast [*Ato*] and ten we used to help buy a carabao at Hatoberka. 159[x]

We went to Hatoberka when the carabao was killed. We returned to Lakfui and made a garden. We got a lot of food and with it bought a Takaning gong. We didn't make a feast for the gong and didn't feed it. Because of this my father died.

We worked one year at Talmang and then moved back to Lakfui. We didn't have a good garden that year. It was full of blady grass. We made a small field house near the garden. I and Tilaleti [her older sister] worked in this garden. Mother and father stayed in the larger house at Lakfui. Each night father went to guard the field, but wild pigs came anyhow. So Tilaleti and I said that he should make a house at the foot of the garden, and we would live there to guard it; he could guard the top of the field. Each night we stayed awake to chase wild pigs. This went on until the corn was ripe and we could gather it.

At this time Mailang [a brother], mother, and father slept in the main house. After the harvest we two sisters returned to the main house. A man came and wanted to marry my sister. I said, "Elder sister, if you marry, I shall have to guard the field alone. We had better guard it together." But Tilaleti said, "No, a man has come and I must go. He does not want to stay here; he wants to go back to Atimelang." So those two went to Atimelang to live.

After that there was a smallpox epidemic. My siblings were all sick. First Mailang was sick. We were sleeping in the house one night when an owl came and beat the thatch with its wings. We thought perhaps it was a kinsman who had come to ask us to join him in Hanungmia. When we went there, many people chased us away because Mailang had smallpox. Then we went to Fuinangfana, but the people there also chased us away—I, mother, and Mailang. So we decided to live in a remote field house at Hanungmia. Lakakalieta and Kafolama said we were their relatives and that they would not chase us away. They built a field house for us to stay in. I, mother, Mailang, and Maralani went there to live. While we were staying there, a man from Kalmasbui, who also had smallpox, came to live with us. He died. Lonmani of Feba also was sick, came to us, and died. Melanglang also came to us because he was sick. I and Melanglang buried Lonmani. [It is not customary for women to bury the dead, but Kolangkalieta had had smallpox and was known to be immune.] Lonmani's brother-in-law came to help us and bring us food. He stayed with us and slept with mother. Later mother was pregnant. He caught smallpox too. He was afraid and ran away to [183 764]

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ready dead. So we went with our children to Hatoberka, where mother was staying. When we got there, mother was still talking, but the human being in her was dead. It was just the evil spirit talking. We went up into the house and mother said, "Where are all my grandchildren? I want to see them before I die." We said, "There are five of them here." I and Tilaleti cried and cried. Mother said, "Don't cry. I am going away. Don't cry here. All the Wanghieta lineage has already come with pigs and food. Go down and take their food from them; offer them areca nuts and betel to chew. Go take care of your guests." So I said, "People came to us and said you were dead; therefore I am crying." She said, "Yes, I am going. I am going. But you must not cry." Before mother died all her Elder House had gathered. We women all set to work to pound corn, not rice. Then Ataboi's father said, "I see that the women are pounding corn only. We had better go to the dead person's Male House." They all went to her Male House, who gave eight large baskets of rice, one pig, and one Tawansama moko as death gifts [*bangpil*]. I was given one large basket to pound. That night they beat gongs all night. I ordered people to go fetch a pig of mine to feed the gong beaters. The next day we buried her. That evening we beat gongs again. Then we went right ahead and gave not only the Hevelaberka and Hevelakang but also the Rolik feast. For the Rolik feast my husband brought a Piki moko, a Kabali moko, a small gong, and a Tamamia moko to help pay off the death obligations. The Tamamia moko was used for a payment on the death gifts to the Male House [*tubui*]. It went to the chief of Fungatao, who was mother's elder Male House [*namu fing*]. The Piki and Kabali mokos and the gong were used to help pay for the shroud. At this time Ataboi [who was only fifteen or sixteen] and Mailang [her young brother] went to ask for a shroud in Aila. My husband and Padalang [her brother-in-law] also offered a woman's heavy shawl [*lemarieng*] as a shroud. [Which did you use?] Father died during an epidemic and we just buried him naked. [This happened when there were not enough shrouds to go around.] So we buried mother with two. One she was to give father to wear.

Eighteen people came to bring gongs, mokos, and pigs for mother's death feast. We used all of them to pay for the death feast gifts [*bangpil*] of the Male House and for the shrouds. We brought home only one pig. Manima, Ataboi's father, spoke to me and said, "How does it happen that all the Female House gathers to bring gongs and pigs?" I said, "It is because I always remember to give them things to eat.

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159 little house. I said the animals would pull it down. [Stop.] Then I ran to Old Atimelang. I was sick there. Good Beings let down a ladder from the sky, and I went up. I turned to look down and saw the sea below me. I cried, "Adiye! Mother, father, tell me what to do. People have hung me in mid-air." [Stop.] I looked to the west and there was a large forest; I looked to the south and there was only sand. In the forest I saw no people. [Stop.] I called and called, but no one answered. I called until I woke myself up and found myself sleeping on the mat. [Stop.] The others were not awakened by my calling and so did not wake me [as they normally do if a person talks in his sleep].

[435] [Do the three carabaos denote ostentation, since they represent great wealth here and are the acme in feast giving? This part of the dream was followed by Kolmani's rising in the air, like a Good Being, which implies power. Good Beings go to their villages in this fashion. Note the development of anxiety as this power dream went on, and the way Kolmani called to her parents for help. The terms *mother* and *father* are formal usage. Kolmani actually never knew her real parents; her aunts and uncles were surrogates.]

Now I want to finish yesterday's story. After I had borne the child who is now dead, we went to stay with Maikalieta. When I was still at Atibaimanek, my uncle told me that when a man spoke to me in a certain way, I was to run away and not live with him. My uncle said, "In a case like that, do your own work and just remember your fields; do not live with him." Then Langmai did speak to me in that fashion. He said, "You just sit and take care of that child; you don't go to the fields to fetch tubers and food. Perhaps you are full. If you get hungry, just eat your child, and then you will be full again." So I ran away, and he went away too. For three years I did not feed him. [Stop.] He had made a house in which I lived. His elder brother, Manimai, died. Langmai ran away from me and stayed with Kolpada [the widow of his elder brother]. A hungry time came and I was very sick, so that even my hair fell out and you could see my scalp. Langmai didn't look at me. He would go off to collect greens and wood to give to Kolpada's parents and not to me. [Stop.] He stayed with her until food was plentiful again before he came back to me. I said, "Your elder brother is dead and you can marry Kolpada." But he didn't want to. "Where will I get the mokos?" he said. I said, "Your elder brother has disappeared and his wife remains. It is not good for her to marry anyone else." [She

[383] overtly followed the cultural pattern of not being jealous of a levirate wife, and yet from what preceded, it was obvious that she was.]

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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157 marry a maternal replica; Malelaka is pushed into an unsatisfactory marriage and is filled with fear and hatred of women; Fantan is still very young, but he is on his way to as many marriages as he can afford. Two of these cases, Rilpada and Malelaka, can be called latent homosexuals, a tendency that is safely channeled into their vocations, where it is consummated in their relationship to supernatural beings.

On the side of affectivity they all differ from the women. But the men are alike in that none of them makes a satisfactory affective relationship with anyone. They are all dominated by greed, resentment, and jealousy, and none of them has the necessary emotional equipment to be a good parent. Fantan is a possible exception.

155 The development of these four men differs chiefly because of differences in paternal care. The case of Rilpada is the most striking. His father was decidedly atypical, having risen from slave status by dint of great pugnacity. The effect on Rilpada was crushing, and he in turn denies himself the opportunity to become a parent. Thus the cycle continues.

In short, it can be seen from these autobiographies that the character structure is strikingly influenced by at least one variable—the differences in paternal care. The roles of the mothers in all four instances run more closely parallel. The differences are supplied by the fathers.

157 181 A second question emerges from the perusal of these autobiographies: What kind of institutions can be utilized by individuals having this basic personality structure? In this connection, we must note a general lack of interest in altering or idealizing the environment and an absence of enterprise and artistic creation. Interest in the outer world is lacking. This would seem to follow from the poor maternal care. The route by which this result is reached is somewhat circuitous. Bad nurture means that the interest of the individual remains focused on human objects; he never ceases making demands on them. Instead he remains fixated on the frustrating objects, which results in short-circuiting all resources. He cannot take any interest in mastery, either in applying it to human needs or in fixing the enjoyment of it in permanent artistic forms. The initial confidence in mastery is lacking.

157 182 183 A second result of this basic personality structure is the necessity to select for stress or to create institutions that will prevent the entire society from falling apart. This society is anarchic enough, and the absence of a few barricades here and there would result in its collapse. These defenses are to be found in the general fear of aggression, the ego being too feeble to tolerate it. A second factor lies in vesting the co-